- Conducting developmental research online vs. in-person: A meta-analysis
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Abstract

An increasing number of psychological experiments with children are being conducted 15 using online platforms, in part due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Individual replications 16 have compared the findings of particular experiments online and in-person, but the general 17 effect of online data collection on data collected from children is still unknown. Therefore, 18 the current meta-analysis examines how the effect sizes of developmental studies conducted 19 online compare to the same studies conducted in-person. Our pre-registered analysis includes 145 effect sizes calculated from 24 papers with 2440 children, ranging in age from 21 four months to six years. We examined several moderators of the effect of online testing, including the role of dependent measure (looking vs verbal), online study method (moderated vs unmoderated), and age. The mean effect size of studies conducted in-person (d = .68) was slightly larger than the mean effect size of their counterparts conducted 25 online (d = .54), but this difference was not significant. Additionally, we found no 26 significant moderating effect of dependent measure, online study method, or age. Overall, 27 the results of the current meta-analysis suggest developmental data collected online are 28 generally comparable to data collected in-person. 29

30 Keywords: Methodology, Meta-analysis, Development, Online studies

Word count: X

Conducting developmental research online vs. in-person: A meta-analysis

Introduction

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Developmental researchers are interested in studying children's behavior, primarily by measuring their behavioral responses to experimental stimuli. Study sessions typically involve visits with local families in a laboratory setting or partnering with remote sites such as schools and museums. Although these interactions are a routine part of developmental research, they are time-consuming for both researchers and participants.

Typical studies with dozens of infants or young children can require weeks or months of scheduling visits to a lab or many visits to testing sites. In-person testing also limits the participant pool to children living relatively close to the research site. Additionally, developmental research has been plagued by small, non-diverse samples even more so than research with adults due to limitations imposed by the demographics of the local population as well as the high costs of collecting data from children (Kidd & Garcia, 2022; Nielsen, Haun, Kärtner, & Legare, 2017).

Prior to the rise of video chat software, there were only limited alternatives to
in-person interaction for collecting experimental behavioral data from children. However,
with the development of inexpensive and reliable video conferencing technology in the
2010s, new frontiers began to emerge for developmental testing. Researchers soon
experimented with conducting developmental studies through video-chat platforms, which
in theory broaden the pool of participants to anyone with internet access at nearly any
time and location. What began as a few research teams experimenting with online studies
(e.g., Lookit: Scott & Schulz, 2017; The Child Lab: Sheskin & Keil, 2018; Pandas: Rhodes
et al., 2020) quickly expanded to much of the field as researchers scrambled to conduct safe
research during the Covid-19 pandemic. This shift in research practices has yielded many

¹ Observational and survey research has long been conducted through the phone or by mail (e.g., Fenson et al., 1994); here we focus primarily on behavioral observation and experimental methods.

empirical publications where some or all of the data were collected online in addition to a growing literature on online methodology and best practices (for a recent review, see Chuey, Asaba, et al., 2021).

Some researchers may be eager to return to in-person testing, but online research is likely here to stay and may increase in frequency as communications technologies improve and become more accessible. Online testing has immense potential to change developmental science (Sheskin et al., 2020), much as crowdsourced testing of adults has changed adult behavioral science (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2016). This potential has yet to be fully realized, however, as researchers have yet to fully understand the strengths and weaknesses of this method, as well as how to recruit diverse populations for online studies. Despite undersampling certain populations (Lourenco & Tasimi, 2020), online studies nonetheless allow researchers to sample from a larger, broader pool of participants than ever before as access to the internet continues to increase worldwide.

Large, low cost samples and remote cross-cultural research may even become a reality for developmental researchers in the coming years.

Is conducting developmental studies online an effective substitute for conducting
them in-person, or do online studies yield systematically different effects? Direct
comparison of effects measured in both modalities is critical to answering this question.
Researchers have implemented a number of paradigms online and replicated their in-person
findings, but the quality of data yielded from online studies in comparison to those
conducted in-person more broadly is still largely unknown. Therefore, the current
meta-analysis examines how data collected from children online compares to data collected
from closely-matched studies in-person. Importantly, online studies themselves are not a
monolith, and differ in a multitude of ways including the presence of a live experimenter,
dependent measure, and the age of the sample being tested.

Online studies are generally conducted in one of two formats: moderated and

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unmoderated. In moderated studies, a live experimenter guides participants through a study much like they would in-person, except online, typically via video-chat. Moderated 83 studies are often operationalized as slide share presentations or videos shared with participants while the participants' verbal responses or looking is recorded. In 85 unmoderated studies, conversely, participants complete a study without the guidance of a live experimenter. Instead, researchers create a preprogrammed module that participants 87 or their parents initiate and complete according to instructions. Since no experimenter needs to be present and participants can participate at any time they choose, unmoderated studies offer the potential for fast, inexpensive data collection. However, since they lack an experimenter, participants' experiences also deviate more from in-person studies compared 91 to moderated studies that retain the same core social interaction between experimenter and participant. Therefore, it is possible that data collected via unmoderated sessions is comparatively noisier since an experimenter is unable to focus children's attention or course correct like they can during a live interaction. We consider this possibility in the current meta-analysis.

Like developmental studies more broadly, online studies have also employed a number 97 of dependent measures, including verbal measures and looking measures. Verbal measures are typically straightforward to record, while recording looking measures is more complex. Accurate looking measures require precise camera positioning and coding schemes, and are thus more likely to deviate from their in-person counterparts compared to studies that 101 measure children's verbal responses. To that end, automated gaze annotation is currently 102 being developed and represents an exciting future direction in online methodology (see 103 Erel, Potter, Jaffe-Dax, Lew-Williams, & Bermano, 2022). We examine how the kind of 104 dependent measure employed (looking vs. verbal) might moderate the difference between 105 online and in-person results. 106

The final moderator we consider is participants' age. Online developmental studies have sampled from a wide age range, including infants (e.g., Dillon, Izard, & Spelke, 2020),

toddlers (e.g., Lo, Rosslund, Chai, Mayor, & Kartushina, 2021), preschoolers (e.g., 109 Schidelko, Schünemann, Rakoczy, & Proft, 2021), and elementary schoolers (e.g., Chuey, 110 Lockhart, Sheskin, & Keil, 2020; Chuey, McCarthy, et al., 2021). Because online studies 111 are often conducted in the comfort of their own homes, it is possible that children of all 112 ages might benefit from this aspect of online studies. Conversely, because a child's 113 environment is more difficult to moderate online, infant studies, which often rely on precise 114 environmental setups, may suffer more when conducted online. In addition, as children get 115 older they may gain more experience with on-screen displays, which can contribute to their 116 performance in online studies. We test these competing age moderation hypotheses. 117

In sum, our meta-analysis addresses the question of whether effect sizes tend to differ across online and in-person experiments with children, and whether these differences are moderated by study format, dependent variable, or participant age.

121 Methods

We conducted a literature search following the Preferred Reporting Items for 122 Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) procedure (Moher et al., 2015); see 123 Figure 1. For each set of studies determined to be an online replication, we calculated the 124 effect size(s) and associated variance for the main effect of interest. We then conducted a 125 series of random-effects multilevel meta-regressions to estimate the effect of online data 126 collection, as well as three possible moderators (online study method, type of dependent 127 measure, and participant age). Our preregistered data selection, coding, and analysis plan 128 can be found at https://osf.io/hjbxf. The list of papers included in this meta-analysis is 129 shown in Table 1. 130

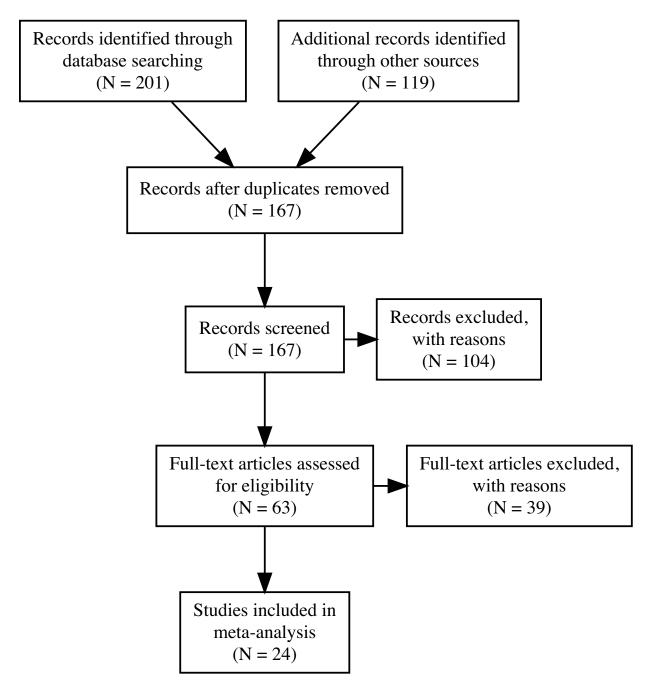


Figure 1. PRISMA plot detailing our study screening process; numerical values represents the number of papers at each stage of the review process.

Literature Search

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Our goal was to find as many published and unpublished online replications of 132 developmental studies as possible. However, because there is no common nomenclature for 133 online replications and the studies themselves cover a wide range of research questions and 134 methodologies, searching via specific terms or keywords was difficult and produced many irrelevant papers. Instead, we preregistered a forward citation search strategy based on key papers on online developmental research. We used the papers that conducted initial 137 validation of popular online testing platforms as our seeds, including Lookit (Scott, Chu, & 138 Schulz, 2017; Scott & Schulz, 2017), The Child Lab (Sheskin & Keil, 2018), and Pandas 139 (Rhodes et al., 2020). We also included all papers published in the Frontiers in Psychology 140 Special Issue: Empirical Research at a Distance: New Methods for Developmental Science, 141 which largely focused on online developmental studies and replications. Finally, we posted 142 a call for contributions to the Cognitive Development Society (CDS) and International 143 Congress of Infant Studies (ICIS) listservs, two popular emailing lists frequented by 144 developmental researchers. This call yielded several publications our initial search strategy 145 missed, as well as six unpublished but complete online replications. 146

We preregistered several eligibility criteria to filter articles from our search:

- 1. The study must be experimental, where participants complete a task with a stimulus.

 This criterion precludes surveys or purely observational measures.
- 2. The studies must report two groups of children, one tested online and another tested in-person. Although the online sample must be collected by the researchers reporting the results, the in-person sample could either be collected at the same time or referenced from an existing publication.
 - 3. The mean age of the sample should be under six years. This criterion limits the studies to those conducted on relatively younger children for whom online data

collection methods have not been traditionally employed.

- 4. All data reported or referred to must contain codable effect sizes. Verbal comparison alone between an online or in-person study or a qualitative description of results is not enough to determine the precise effect size of interest.
- 5. Data collection for both the in-person and online sample must be complete; any incomplete or partial samples were not considered.
- 162 6. The online and in-person methods must be directly comparable. Some alteration to
 163 the study methods is expected when adapting an in-person study to be run online
 164 (e.g., changing a preferential reaching measure into a preferential looking measure,
 165 having children refer to objects by color instead of pointing, etc). However, we
 166 excluded any studies whose methodologies altered the nature of the task or the
 167 conclusions that could be drawn from them (e.g., manipulating the identity of an
 168 object instead of its location).

Table 1

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Papers used in this meta-analysis. Some papers contained both online and in-person results, others contained online replications compared to previous in-person papers. Pairs is number of online – in-person pairs contributed by each paper (set). Look is whether the studies are use looking, verbal, or both types of dependent measures. Mod is whether the online studies were moderated, unmoderated, or both. Age is the average age of the participants in months.

Paper	Pairs	Look Mod	Age
Gasparini et al. (2022)	5	Verb Mod	4
Bánki, Eccher, Falschlehner, Hoehl, and Markova (2022)	4	Look Mod	5
DeJesus, Venkatesh, and Kinzler (2021)	3	Verb Mod	5
Bochynska and Dillon (2021) compared to Dillon et al. (2020)	2	Look Unmo	d 7

Paper	Pairs	Look	Mod	Age
Bulgarelli and Bergelson (2022)	3	Look	Mod	8
Yuen and Hamlin (2022) compared to Hamlin (2015)	2	Both	Mod	9
Smith-Flores, Perez, Zhang, and Feigenson (2022) compared to	3	Look	Mod	13
Stahl and Feigenson (2015)				
Smith-Flores (2022) compared to Skerry and Spelke (2014)	2	Look	Mod	13
Lo et al. (2021)	1	Verb	Unmod	d 20
Margoni, Baillargeon, and Surian (2018)	2	Look	Mod	21
Chuey, Asaba, et al. (2021)	3	Both	Mod	24
Man (2022)	1	Look	Mod	24
Morini and Blair (2021)	1	Verb	Mod	30
Silver et al. (2021)	1	Verb	Mod	33
Schidelko et al. (2021)	4	Verb	Mod	44
Lapidow, Tandon, Goddu, and Walker (2021)	4	Verb	Both	44
Scott et al. (2017) compared to Téglás, Girotto, Gonzalez, and	17	Both	Unmod	d 45
Bonatti (2007) and Pasquini, Corriveau, Koenig, and Harris				
(2007)				
Yoon and Frank (2019)	2	Verb	Unmod	d 48
Kominsky, Shafto, and Bonawitz (2021)	1	Verb	Mod	55
Escudero, Pino Escobar, Casey, and Sommer (2021)	2	Verb	Mod	57
Vales et al. (2021)	3	Verb	Mod	58
Nelson, Scheiber, Laughlin, and Demir-Lira (2021)	8	Verb	Mod	59
Gerard (2022)	1	Verb	Unmoo	d 60
Aboody, Yousif, Sheskin, and Keil (2022)	1	Verb	Mod	72

Data Entry

All papers (320) yielded by our search procedure went through three rounds of 170 evaluation to determine if they met our inclusion criteria. First, we screened the titles of the papers to determine whether they might include an online experiment. Those that clearly did not meet one or more of our inclusion criteria were excluded from further 173 evaluation. Next, we performed a similar evaluation based on the papers' abstracts, before a final round based on the article as a whole. All remaining papers were entered into a 175 spreadsheet that coded the necessary information for us to calculate the size of the main 176 effect(s) of interest and their associated variance (sample size, group means and standard 177 deviation, and t and F statistics when applicable), as well as our preregistered moderators 178 (study modality, data collection method, dependent measure, and participant age). 170

If a paper reported an effect size as cohen's d (referred to below as standardized mean difference, SMD), we coded it directly. Otherwise, we calculated the individual effect sizes for each main effect and each study (online and in-person) using reported means and standard deviations, t statistic, or directly from the data if it was available. If the main comparison was to chance performance, we first calculated log odds and then converted the effect size to cohen's d via the compute.es package in R (Del Re & Del Re, 2012). If a given study had multiple dependent measures or central hypotheses, we calculated an effect size and associated variance for each.

Analytic Approach

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To determine whether study modality (online or in-person) moderated the size of the main effect of interest for each set of studies, we performed a random-effects multilevel meta-regression using the metafor package (Viechtbauer, 2010). The regression predicts effect size (SMD) with study modality as a fixed effect.

Our analysis reflects a key design choice for our meta-analysis. Naively, it might

appear to be possible to predict the size of the online-offline difference for a particular study. But on examination, many papers are heterogeneous and contain multiple online studies for a given offline study, or multiple measures for the same study. In these cases, the appropriate difference was not always clear. Further, many pairs of studies differed on some value of our chosen moderators.

To deal with these issues, we instead modeled individual experimental effect sizes,
with the coefficient of interest being the study modality predictor (online vs. in-person).
We included two random intercepts in our models. The first random intercept controlled
for variation between particular experiments (e.g., modeling the dependency between
multiple measurements reported from a single experiment). The second controlled for
variation between groups of participants (e.g., modeling the dependency between effect
sizes from participants who completed a battery of tasks with multiple effects of interest).

To determine the effect of additional moderators (online study method, dependent measure, and participant age), we conducted three additional multilevel meta-regressions each with an additional fixed effect plus the corresponding interaction with study modality.

All analysis scripts were preregistered, and the code is available at https://osf.io/up6qn/?view_only=91ba54134dc24787b04dd8f3b3b70e1e.

211 Results

Confirmatory Analysis

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Overall, the meta-analysis estimated a small negative, non-significant effect of online study modality, Est=-0.15, 95% CI=[-0.38, 0.08], p=0.21. Additionally, we did not find any significant effect of our preregistered moderators or any significant interactions between the moderators and study modality. See Table 2 for coefficient values. Figure 2 shows the effect size differences of experiments by moderators.

Because our meta-analysis averaged across effects from very different paradigms

Table 2

Table of coefficients for the pre-registered models. The overall model is shown first, followed by the three models with moderators.

Coefficient	Estimate	95% CI	P-value
Overall			
Intercept	0.84	[0.46, 1.21]	0.000
Online	-0.15	[-0.38, 0.08]	0.210
Looking v Verbal			
Intercept	0.73	[0.42, 1.04]	0.000
Online	-0.29	[-0.7, 0.11]	0.155
Verbal	-0.06	[-0.43, 0.31]	0.745
Online:Verbal	0.23	[-0.27, 0.72]	0.375
Age			
Intercept	0.68	[0.51, 0.86]	0.000
Online	-0.14	[-0.38, 0.1]	0.244
Age	0.00	[-0.01, 0.01]	0.731
Online:Age	0.01	[-0.01, 0.02]	0.342
Moderated v Un-moderated			
Intercept	0.69	[0.52, 0.86]	0.000
Online	-0.19	[-0.45, 0.07]	0.151
Unmoderated	0.13	[-0.22, 0.48]	0.461

⁽which could yield different effect sizes independent of the effect of testing modality), we expected substantial heterogeneity. Consistent with that expectation, all tests for residual heterogeneity were highly significant (all ps < .0001). Values of τ^2 for the models were 0.23 (primary model), 0.23 (looking-time model), 0.23 (age model), and 0.23 (moderated

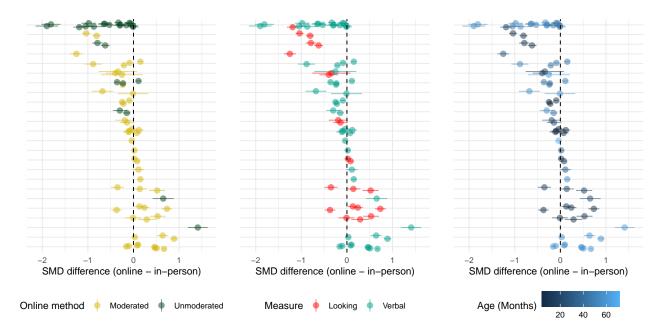


Figure 2. Forest plots of studies, sorted by difference in SMD. Each dot is the difference between and in-person measure and a corresponding online measure. Each row is one study (paper or pair of papers).

vs. unmoderated model), respectively, confirming the impression that these moderators did not reduce heterogeneity.

225 Exploratory Analysis

Table 3

Mean SMD across studies by study modality, data-collection method, and type of dependent measure

Modality	Method	Measure	SMD
In-person	Moderated	Looking	0.699
In-person	Moderated	Verbal	0.677
Online	Moderated	Looking	0.597
Online	Moderated	Verbal	0.511

Modality	Method	Measure	SMD
Online	Unmoderated	Looking	0.177
Online	Unmoderated	Verbal	0.570

As an exploratory analysis, we examined which combinations of methods and 226 measures tended to yield the strongest and weakest effect sizes relative to their in-person 227 counterparts. We fit a meta-analytic model containing method, response mode, and 228 modality as well as their two- and three-way interactions, with the same random effects 220 structure as our previous model. We cannot draw any strong conclusions about these noisy 230 estimates due to our relatively small sample size. That said, unmoderated online studies 231 with looking measures were estimated to have the weakest effect sizes compared with their 232 in-person counterparts, an average difference of 0.52 (See Table 3). In contrast, as 233 estimated by this model, moderated online studies with looking and verbal measures as 234 well as unmoderated online studies with verbal measured all differed by less than .2 SMD 235 from their in-person counterparts.

We additionally conducted an exploratory analysis of potential publication bias. It was unclear a priori how we might expect publication biases to manifest themselves, given that there is some possibility of notoriety for either showing or failing to show differences between online and in-person testing. In either case our hypothesized selection process operated on the differences in effect sizes between each online and in-lab pair of samples.

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For each online and in-person pair on the same study, we calculated a standard mean difference in effect size between the two studies as well as the variance of this difference.

The resulting funnel plot is shown in Figure 3. According to Egger's regression test for funnel plot asymmetry, this plot is asymmetric (p=.005) and the limit estimate of the effect as standard error goes to zero is 0.37 [0.01, 0.72]. This analysis suggests the possibility of publication bias favoring negative comparisons between online and in-lab modalities,

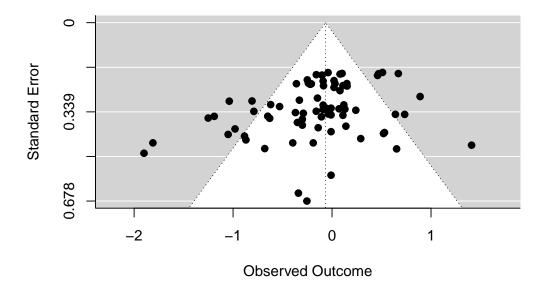


Figure 3. Funnel plot of the differences in effect size between pairs of in-person and online studies. A positive observed outcome means the online study had a large effect.

signaling that perhaps the true effect of online testing is zero or perhaps even positive. We interpret this conclusion with caution, however, noting the large width of the estimated CI and the relatively low power of Egger's test (Sterne, Gavaghan, & Egger, 2000).

251 Discussion

By aggregating across a growing literature of online studies, the current meta-analysis provides a birds-eye view of how developmental studies traditionally conducted in-person fare compared to closely matched counterparts conducted online. Our results suggest that overall, the results of online studies are comparable to those conducted in-person. Based on our analysis, the method of online data collection, type of dependent measure, and participant age did not appear to have a significant impact either. Nonetheless, the relatively small sample size limits our ability to make sweeping generalizations about any of our moderators, so future analysis is needed to determine the moderating effect, if any, that these factors exercise on the outcome of developmental studies conducted online.

It is also important to consider additional factors that could influence these results or

the way we interpret them. Chiefly, the current analysis is quite coarse-grained and 262 considers one particular dichotomy within study modality: in-person vs online. Yet, there 263 are many ways that developmental studies can be further subdivided. For example, studies 264 are conducted both in quiet spaces (e.g., in lab, at home) and loud spaces (e.g., parks, 265 museums). Therefore, online studies might out- or underperform studies conducted in 266 particular in-person locations. Our moderators are also correspondingly course-grained, 267 particularly dependent measure (looking vs verbal). Qualitatively, unmoderated studies 268 with looking measures had the smallest effect sizes relative to their in-person counterparts. 260 However, smaller effect sizes online could reflect true non-replications of the in-person 270 results rather than a lack of online studies' sensitivity. Because our small sample size 271 renders our analysis underpowered to detect weaker effects of moderators, the current 272 results and their interpretation are subject to change as online methods improve and comparisons to in-person studies are better understood. 274

Although developmental researchers have had decades of experience designing and 275 running experiments in-person, most have only had a few years or less of experience 276 developing online studies. Thus, our meta-analysis might underestimate the effectiveness of 277 online studies due to researcher and experimenter inexperience. Over the next several 278 years, as developmental researchers develop expertise and experience with online studies, 279 effect sizes might increase for any number of reasons, including better 280 experimenter-participant interactions, better stimulus design, and more accurate methods 281 of measurements (i.e., automatic looking time measures, see Erel et al., 2022). Relatedly, 282 as new methods are developed and adapted for online experiments, researchers should not take the current findings as a blanket declaration that all online studies produce comparable results to their in-person counterparts; some might underperform, while others might outperform. Nonetheless, the current results suggest that across currently employed 286 developmental methodologies, studies conducted with children online are generally 287 comparable to those conducted in-person. 288

The composition of our sample might also bias our results. To match online and 289 in-person methods as closely as possible, we only considered direct online replications for 290 the current meta-analysis. While this approach ensures that data were collected online and 291 in-person using similar methods and procedures, it limits our sample size and may bias our 292 sample. For example, perhaps researchers disproportionately choose to conduct online 293 replications of strong or well-established effects rather than replicate more subtle, weaker 294 effects. Nonetheless, our analysis found no significant publication bias in terms of favoring 295 stronger online effect sizes or non-replications among the studies we sampled. We also 296 included an open call for unpublished data in an attempt to limit the file drawer problem 297 (see Rosenthal, 1979). Of the published and unpublished online replications that were 298 available to include in our sample, we found comparable effect sizes online (compared to 299 in-person); however, researchers should exercise caution as this sample may not be representative for their particular questions of interest. 301

302 Conclusion

Although online data collection precludes certain research methodologies or measures 303 (e.g., exploration of a physical environment), the general similarity in outcomes for 304 in-person and online studies with children paint an optimistic picture for online 305 developmental research going forward. However, beyond enabling the collection of high 306 quality, low cost data, online research also stands to benefit the broader scientific 307 community as a whole. Conducting studies online allows researchers to sample beyond the 308 local community surrounding their home institution. And importantly, for many online 309 participants, an online study with a developmental researcher is their first interaction with 310 a scientist. As online research expands among developmental researchers, we are presented 311 with an unprecedented outreach opportunity to directly interact more closely with those we 312 hope our research will allow us to better understand and help – parents and children. 313

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