

The Meanings of Television for Underprivileged Children in Argentina

Roxana Morduchowicz

The relationship between children and the media has been the focus of research in parts of the world, but has been explored to a much lesser extent – or not at all – in most countries. According to international studies, one of the most unresearched dimensions in this field is the knowledge children acquire from the media, what they learn from them, and the way these young spectators, never passive audience members, receive and interpret the media messages (Jacquinot, 1995).

Moreover, research on children and media, and on media education, has often ignored social differences, perhaps due to a common conception that social context does not affect the relationship that the young develop with the media (Neveu, 1989). Thus, although there are a number of studies on how children from low-income families make use of and receive the media, such studies are rare.

Nevertheless, children do not escape the social dimensions when they select or interpret a television program or a particular newspaper or magazine. Children construct widely different meanings according to their cultural experiences and the social context to which they belong. The fact that children from different social classes switch on the TV to watch the same program does not imply communion and uniformity in their reception of the same message. Can we, for instance, place on a strictly equal level those children who watch a TV program because of a lack of any other recreational activity, and those who leave the same program on as background sound while playing with electronic toys in their rooms (Mariet, 1993)?

Every child is an individual marked by his or her personal history. But at the same time, and not less important, s/he is also member of a social class. This fact strongly conditions the child's more or less promising opportunities of social success (Chombart de Lauwe & Bellan, 1979)

It is true that each child's history is *unique* and that this uniqueness is developed following a specific logic of this *singular* person's identity or subjectivity. It

is also true that living in, for example, a low-income area does not directly determine the characteristics and personality of the children there, or, still less, their whole lives. The individual is not a simple incarnation of a social group, or a direct result of his or her economic context (Charlot, 1997).

However, taking an interest in young people as singular subjects does not mean forgetting the fact that individuals are constructed by, and construct, their lives in a *social context*. Singularity cannot be understood unless considered with reference to the world in which this singularity is constructed. Although the social context does not (and can not) directly model or determine a person, it is certainly the *universe of meaning* from which a person builds his/her own world and perception of reality.

It is this universe of meaning, and this perception of reality constructed in a social context, that we were interested in exploring when we decided to analyze the *particular* relationship students from *low socio-economic families* in Argentina establish with the media, a relationship that affects their perception and links to culture, to the school, to the world, and to themselves. Social, economic and cultural restrictions are reflected in the media practices and the experiences of low-income families (Danos & Dionisio, 1986).

Of all media, television plays a fundamental role in the life of low-income families in Argentina. These families do not buy newspapers and seldom listen to the radio at home. Instead, television is usually on from very early in the morning until quite late in the evening. The family of low socio-economic status in Argentina, often consisting of seven to eight members, usually lives in only one room, in which the screen occupies an important place. This place is also reflected in the children's lives.

Television is the most important companion for children in this social context: They wake up with TV, they have their meals with it, they spend their afternoons and do their homework with it, and they go to sleep with it on. The screen quickly becomes the friend that fills their solitude, the sister that listens to their secrets and, quite often, the mother that takes care of them.

Argentina – a globalized television country

Argentina has five national (open, or over-the-air broadcast) television channels. During the military dictatorship (1976-1984), all five channels were state-owned. Since democracy returned, four of these channels have gradually become privatized and only one has remained public. Satellite television from other countries has spread rapidly, mainly via cable, during the 90s in Argentina, one of the countries with access to most satellite channels (about 100¹), and with the highest percentage of cable subscribers in the world. Eighty to ninety percent of the population has access to some 50 various TV channels. Almost all children in the study presented in this article have access to both open and cable TV, though their families may not pay the subscription.

On Argentine open television, an estimated 60 percent of programs are imported, particularly from the USA (fiction series) and Latin America (soap

operas). Among the satellite channels, some carry programming produced in Latin America and Europe, and several are thematic, devoted to news, sports, or music videos (such as CNN and MTV). However, the majority of satellite channels transmit US-produced or US-based films, series and cartoons.

All children in the study watch both cable and open TV, especially the private channels. The children watch mainly foreign programs. As their favorite shows, they choose cartoons from the USA and Japan on cable, and American series on open TV. Argentine soap operas starring children and produced for children are their third, but much less pronounced, choice.

Taking the many international satellite television channels into account, and the percentage of imported programs on open TV, as well as children's favorites consisting of foreign programs, we can say that Argentina is one of the most television globalized countries in the world. The meanings of television for underprivileged children in Argentina will, thus, also give an idea of the consequences that media globalization has for these children.

The study

Two hundred and thirty students in the third and fifth grades (7 to 11 year olds) in eight classes in Buenos Aires were surveyed in the project, which was performed in the late 90s (Morduchowicz, 1999). The children attended four schools defined by the city government as 'schools at serious pedagogical risk', because of the extremely difficult economic conditions of the students' families and the high percentage of truancy, pupils not having been promoted, and the occurrence of drop-out before the seventh grade (the end of primary school in Argentina).

The children were asked to fill in questionnaires with fifteen open-ended questions. Thirty of these students were interviewed after the survey for half an hour each, so that the researcher could better understand certain answers.

The research findings were analyzed regarding three main issues:

- the children's television viewing
- the children's favorite genres
- the children's learning from television.

How much do children watch?

The first item studied was the children's media consumption in terms of time spent with the media. Watching television is their favorite activity when they get out of school. This preference was reflected in the number of hours that they spend watching TV daily. The vast majority (80%) watches more than five programs per day (equivalent to five hours) and the other 20 percent watches between three and four programs (hours).

One reason for spending five hours in front of the TV is that the children studied are home from school until late at night (some go to bed between 11 and 12 p.m.). During the afternoon they watch because they choose to do so. From supper on, they watch because their parents do:

I watch all afternoon programs beginning at midday, when I come back home. Afterwards I take a bath. When my father gets home we have supper watching the news and after that a movie at 10 pm. I stay awake until the end, sometimes until midnight. (Diego, 10 years old)

I watch television a lot, starting when I come back from school. And I go to bed very late. (Ezequiel, 8 years old)

The children usually know and mention each and every program they watch. They can list the programs they watch one by one, including the channels and the schedules of the programs, from the moment they come home from school until late at night. Thus, it is not surprising that the great majority knows before turning on the television what they want to see; they rarely turn it on to 'see what's on'.

The average television consumption among children in low socio-economic families, five hours a day, is one hour and ten minutes above that of an average child of the same age in Argentina. An average Argentine child in primary school watches three hours and fifty minutes per day (Chaffee, Morduchowicz & Galperin, 1998).

There are similar French findings: Children whose mothers have not completed primary school studies tend to watch television almost an hour more per day than those whose mothers have acquired university degrees (Neveu, 1989). Children's TV watching is, thus, inversely proportional to the mother's schooling.

In middle-class families, television is on so that *certain* programs at *certain* specified times can be watched, according to research in France. Television in middle-class families is not part of the family daily rituals (e.g., supper). There are other activities that take place after school: reading books and magazines, listening to music, playing games, playing sports, etc. Among children in low-income families, however, television is on the whole day, and is simultaneously shared with other activities, such as meals, schoolwork and house chores. For these children, everything seems to happen in front of the screen. Television is quite integrated into the *family intimacy and routine* of low-income groups (Pasquier, 1999).

Furthermore, children in high and middle-class families tend to organize the time they spend in front of the screen. They often own a VCR, with which they record their favorite programs while they are participating in other activities. Children can then organize their television practice more freely by selecting the content and the time they want to watch (ibid.).

The physical place of the television set

The hours children of low socio-economic families in Argentina spend in front of the screen are also related to the compensating function television has in these contexts, reflected even in the *physical place* the screen is given in the house.

This physical place has a significant meaning. Generally situated in the center of the room in the Argentine households studied (as mentioned, in many cases the only room in the house), in a quite visible place, the TV is located where all glances meet. (Middle-class families, on the contrary, often place the TV in a more discreet place such as the corner of the living room and/or in the bedroom. The TV might also be hidden inside a specially designed piece of furniture, or be disguised among books and records.)

In lower-class families in France, the television set is generally big, occupying and organizing the whole room, ready to receive the cult status the whole family gives it, night after night in a shared ceremony (Pasquier, 1999). This is also true of Argentina:

The television set is in the room where we live. When I go to school, my mother takes it to grandma's house, who lives nearby. At night we bring it back home. (Elena, 7 years old)

The television set is on one corner of the table. My house is like a big room, there is the kitchen on one end, then the table with the television on it in the center, and then the beds on the other side. (Norma, 10 years old)

Television seems to be a fundamental organizer of these Argentine family lives. Programs often regulate the family routine (e.g., supper during the news). Programs also usually generate discussions among the members of the family, around topics that allow them to talk more easily about themselves. The *family reunion* around the TV set is an essential dimension in understanding the way children from lower classes watch their programs.

A great deal of international research shows that the middle-class family sitting together in front of the television set has become an unusual picture today – due to large living space at home, many television sets being placed in several rooms, money, and several available options of activities. Nevertheless, there is a context in which this collective experience still exists in many countries: among *low-income families*, not least at mealtimes. There is, in this context, a shared TV-watching experience that contradicts the alarming discourse about family atomization caused by television.

The placing of the TV set in the center of the room also contributes to constructing the *'us'* concept (parents and children together in front of the screen) that explains the absence of guilt for the high consumption among these families (for adults and children, as well). In middle-class families, on the other hand, children may feel guilt that television occupies time that should be devoted to other 'more legitimate' activities.

Television time for low-income families in Argentina is a *meeting time*. TV has become the essential topic in their daily conversations. Even more, televi-

sion is a strong link between mothers and children. Children in these families watch their favorite programs *with* their mothers. TV time in these contexts turns out to be a time for *intimacy* and *complicity* between the mothers and their children. Most children say they watch television after coming home from school, generally in the company of some family member: mother, brothers or sisters. Yanina (10 years old) watches TV with her brother and mother. Elena (7 years old) watches with her grandparents, her uncle and her brother Diego:

I watch television with my mother, lying on the bed. When she goes to cook supper, I watch with my brother. I almost never watch TV alone.

For these children, television means a *sense of community* and plays a unification role, especially at night. This family unification is essential in understanding the *freedom* these children feel when talking about what they watch: there is no guilt, no self-censorship.

What do children watch?

Although children from lower classes say they rarely watch TV by themselves, control by their mothers or other adults over their viewing is almost non-existent. Their mothers' being at home in front of the TV is not connected with a control over the time devoted by the child to the screen or over the kind of program s/he watches. As the Argentine children say:

I watch whatever I want. (Martín, 8 years old)

I watch as much as I want. (Diego, 10 years old)

Several international studies indicate that among better off families, television is often used as a 'discipline tool'. The parent-child relationship is mediated by rules, among them those associated with TV. Middle-class children discover, from their most tender age, the rules of use and prohibitions connected with television. Among middle-class families, discourse about TV is often a discourse about education. Control over TV seems, on the adults' part, to mean being 'good parents', concerned about the child's future. Among the middle classes, the limited place that TV holds in family life has to do with the fact that television is perceived as an 'invader', taking over other more socially and culturally legitimated forms of access to learning and knowledge.

The reluctance that middle-class families show toward TV can be explained by the fact that, according to their standards, educational success is achieved through the written word and not through audiovisual image. For lower-class families, on the other side, the small screen is a source (rather than a problem) for the children's learning and education.

When an underprivileged Argentine child mentions some kind of control, the restraint is often due to reasons that have nothing to do with educational rules:

Sometimes they tell me, 'turn the TV set off, it's very hot'. The appliance begins to overheat and they are afraid it will catch fire. (Norma, 10 years old)

Sometimes, my granny asks me to turn the television set off in the afternoon, because she wants to take a nap. But I usually watch whatever I want. (Yanina, 10 years old)

Not only is the control over time spent in front of the TV set almost non-existent, but, as appeared above, so is the authority over children's program choices. The children say that they themselves choose the shows they watch. And when asked 'Does your mother or your father recommend any particular show to you?' the common answer seems to be 'No':

Int.: What programs does your mother want you to watch?

Vanesa (10 years old): I don't know, she doesn't tell me anything. Maybe she wants me to watch the ones I actually watch.

Int.: Who makes the choice of the programs you watch?

Ezequiel (8 years old): I by myself.

Int.: Does your father or your mother recommend any particular program to you?

Ezequiel: No.

Int.: And what program would they recommend to you?

Ezequiel: I have no idea. None.

Since lower-class parents themselves are high consumers of TV, they often share the programs *with* their children. For these children, parents are significant *partners* to talk with about television. The children perceive watching a TV program as a moment of great intimacy, affection and love. It is a *shared* time. Similarly, according to a French study, a mother writes the following to a French popular TV show: 'Among the moments we enjoy most is when we watch the soap opera together every evening. It is like coming together to share thirty minutes, which go by so fast...' (Pasquier, 1999).

Regarding the kinds of programs that lower-class children watch on television, and their favorite genres, certain research points to a homogenization of media tastes, resulting from a strong TV impregnation and consumption (Danos & Dionisio, 1986). Lower-class children are very close to *fiction programs* and show little interest in the 'serious' ones (documentaries, news, etc.) (Neveu 1989). Furthermore, these children usually choose action programs with violent content, in which they look for physical and sexual strength assertion models, widely spread in the context they live. Lower-class children reveal a preferential taste for shows that give priority to action over words, movement over stillness, outside over inner spaces. They are interested in sports, variety shows and, above all, action films, as long as there is not too much talking in the program.

Argentine children's preferred programs are very similar to these. Action films and cartoons, both genres mainly foreign-produced, take the lead, fol-

lowed by serials starred in by and designed for children. Contest shows (in which the award is money) and musical programs (particularly Argentine and other Latin-American popular genres) also hold a significant place among children's options. When choosing their favorite cartoons, these children mention action cartoons: *Zodiac Knights*, *Power Rangers*, *Ninja Turtles*, *Karate Kid*, "A" *Brigade*, *Robocop*. Action is what explains their choice:

I like it because there's a lot of suspense and action. (Raúl, 9 years old)

Diego (10 years old): I like those movies because there's fight in them. And because I learn karate.

Int.: Why do you want to learn karate?

Diego: To defend myself.

The Argentine children studied express a particular preference about every program, which gives priority to action and image rather than to words and dialogues. Relationship with words is a quite difficult issue for them. They usually talk about the restraints they experience in following such TV programs. A sudden ending in a movie and too much talking in a scene are among the main reasons the children mention to explain their difficulties in understanding certain programs. Slow motion, omissions, vocabulary restrictions, fast leaps in time and space (different settings) and a discontinuous narrative line are also difficulties that keep these children from understanding certain programs, and therefore they avoid them.

Int.: What do you find most difficult to understand in a TV show?

Diego (10 years old): Some movies, like *Indiana Jones*, because everything seems to be OK and suddenly a problem arises and it goes too quick and you can't understand anything.

Television has things that I find difficult to understand. In movies, for instance, when a lady is pregnant and is about to have a baby and then they jump to another thing in another place and we do not know anything else about the lady. (Elena, 7 years old)

I don't understand a movie if there is too much talking. I don't like people who talk all the time in a show... (Romina, 10 years old)

What is a hero?

The *heroes* that lower-class boys and girls prefer belong to the world of *physical strength*. For the children, a hero-oriented identification process comprises thinking of themselves in 'the same situation' as the hero. Children from underprivileged families do not choose heroes who succeed in the real world, since their own experience has already taught them that this success is quite unlikely for them.

They seem to have learned that it is better to choose fiction and imaginary worlds, and to identify themselves with a hero who inhabits an unreal universe, a good hero endowed with a magical power and thereby renowned (Chombart de Lauwe & Bellan, 1979). A hero for the Argentine children is:

Somebody who saves people. (Elena, 7 years old)

The one who saves the whole country, solves problems and puts thieves in jail. (Romanella, 8 years old)

Someone who is good, fights against evil and always wins. (Diego, 10 years old)

Physical strength and righteousness are the features that best define a hero for children from underprivileged families. The heroes indistinctly chosen by boys and girls of all ages in the study are Superman, Power Rangers, Wonder Woman, Spider Man and Zodiac Knights. All these heroes belong to a fictional realm and are endowed with magical powers. Heroes are *good and renowned*. They belong to the universe of the imaginary and the unreal. Almost no child talks about a hero linked to success, intelligence, or labor and economic achievements in the real society. Norma (10 years old) offers us some explanation as to why these children choose this kind of hero:

I'd like to be like Superman, because he can fly and lift a lot of things that a human being can't. If I could do that, I'd feel great. Moving around, flying and being stronger than anybody. So, I'd be good and nothing evil would happen to me.

Television viewing without guilt

Television plays a *compensating role* for children from lower classes, firstly, because it is one of the few entertaining activities in which these children participate, and, secondly, because it is perceived as a learning source and is often valued for its educational function. The compensating and family-unifying functions that TV has among these groups explain, as mentioned, the children's lack of guilt in discussing the programs they watch.

The reason why lower-class families watch TV *without guilt* is that television does not have any negative meaning for them. TV use is not an illegitimate activity. Talking about TV is not forbidden. On the contrary, TV is rewarding. Television viewing is, no doubt, one of the few rewarding experiences these children have. This kind of TV consumption with neither complex nor guilt is also reflected in open access to the screen, which, as mentioned, is not linked to any system of restrictions. For these Argentine children, the screen means access to knowledge, practices and interpersonal relationships.

Among middle-class families, at least according to research from certain countries, television is held responsible for setting aside more valued activities: reading, homework, sports, games. Television viewers from middle and upper

classes learn quickly and from early on how to respond to these rules: what must and must not be said in order to belong to a desired community and to be part of a desired social class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1985; Danos & Dionisio, 1986). Children from lower-class groups, on the other hand, show a greater freedom to talk about their favorite programs, even with their teachers at school:

I like to talk about what I watch on television. When we are in the classroom, sometimes I tell the teacher about the program that I watched the day before. But she seems not to be very happy about it, because she changes the subject at once. (Diego, 9 years old)

I like to watch television. And TV is very important to me. Because it's the only thing I can do after school. But when we are at school, the teacher doesn't want us to talk about it. (Irene, 10 years old)

In more privileged social contexts, TV consumption is less exclusive and 'confronts a competition' with other more legitimate activities: museums, theaters, books, cinema, exhibitions, etc. Among children from lower-class families, cultural consumption is almost entirely devoted to TV.

The findings from the Argentine study strongly support that children from lower-class families are less selective than are their middle-class peers when watching TV. They are less selective about the programs (basically fiction shows) and are less diversified with respect to the media in general. As mentioned, television is practically the only medium systematically present in their everyday world.

The students' neighborhood, the urban space in which they live, and the respective existence – or lack – of cultural alternatives, recreational options or public libraries, determine the children's access – or non-access – to a wide cultural diversification. Whatever cultural activity we may refer to (drama, music, painting, jazz or movies), children develop richer and more diversified knowledge in a social and cultural context in which there are more offers and opportunities available to them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1985). In our study, children say:

I've never been to a cinema. I figure it's a place with a very big screen, and I would be able to watch television cartoons much bigger. (Sandra, 8 years old)

Museums? I don't know what they are. I've never gone to one. (Ramón, 10 years old)

How do I have fun? Usually, watching television. (José, 10 years old)

In this limited cultural diversification, television fulfills a recreational deficit. It quickly becomes a source of direct satisfactions. Lower-class families in Buenos Aires buy a TV set because they 'cannot afford a movie ticket'.

Int.: Why do you like watching TV so much?

Diego (10 years old): Because it's the only thing I can do.

On Saturdays and Sundays, television is always on at home, because we don't go out anywhere. (Elena, 8 years old)

Television means a way of escape, as well: 'Television helps us dream...', 'People like us identify themselves with things we'll never be able to get.', 'When we watch television on Christmas, and they show champagne, cakes, food... It is as though we ate that... In a way, it is our food...', 'Sometimes, TV is for us a sort of salvation...' (cf. Danos & Dionisio, 1986).

Among lower-class children, television watching is, then, more intense, less controlled, more permissive and without signs of guilt.

What do children learn from television?

What do children learn from television? What do they expect from it?

As mentioned, the compensatory function performed by television for these underprivileged families is *not* exclusively restricted to replace a recreational deficit. Since streets and avenues are dangerous places for children, and since they must often stay at home to take care of their younger brothers and sisters, television is the only bridge to that closed real world to which they have no access, other than via the screen. The children in our study say they 'learn a lot' from television. They value its educational role, and express high expectations for the TV programs they watch. Other research shows, as well, that students from lower-class families say they expect advice from the news programs, and that television helps them with their daily homework (Gruau, Roussel, Bertrand & Corset, 1990).

It is true that the Argentine lower-class children do speak about fun:

Int.: Why do you like watching TV so much?

Child A: I have fun. I like it.

Child B: It's funny.

Child C: It's amusing.

However, there is always something else besides fun:

I love Big Man because he teaches things; for example, he teaches how to keep a handkerchief from tearing or how to make a tin can come back to me when I throw it forward. (Diego, 10 years old)

Children learn from television: information, judgments, beliefs, attitudes, behaviors and values. Even more important: they learn ways to understand reality. They learn meanings. There are two types of knowledge that they receive from television: *cognitive knowledge* and *social knowledge*:

What I liked most were the facts I learned about the dinosaurs. (Martín, 11 years old)

When I watch cartoons, I learn how to behave at table. (Romina, 8 years old)

Television (and more recently new information technologies) has changed the way people construct knowledge and relate television to knowledge. Television viewing – we believe – is *always educational*. Students from lower-class families perceive many TV programs as sources of information and learning, even if these shows would not be judged as educational according to mainstream standards (cf. Jacquinot, 1997).

As we have said, children from lower classes expect television to help them with their homework. They often mention what they have learned from TV about ‘polluted water’ or the ‘dinosaurs’ (cognitive knowledge) and, equally important, they value a program that taught them how ‘to ask a girl out’ or how ‘to behave at the table during dinnertime’ (social knowledge).

Television is always educational, because it influences the things children learn, both the content and the way of learning, a process in which rationality and emotion, information and disorganized representations blend. The media act on the students’ knowledge and on their relationship to knowledge (Jacquinot, 1996).

A study in the Ivory Coast, Africa, showed that a significant number of the lower-class respondents found westerns and thrillers educational because ‘they allow us to learn how to defend ourselves’, ‘they teach a lot of things about the way people dress and live’ or ‘they teach us a great deal about the facts of the world’ (Jacquinot, 1995). A French television program for teenagers helped and guided suburban children in their initiation to a love life. The show was for them a way to learn about sexual roles and it meant an initiation to the grammar of love games (Pasquier, 1994).

Lower-class Argentine children also learn, and are motivated to learn, from the most diversified television genres, how to behave in daily life, and how to acquire access to new knowledge and information. Young TV viewers can build complex social uses out of simple television serials. Some of these serials, e.g., those starred in by children and directed toward a child audience, engage them in a reflection on themselves, on their friends and on their parents. Programs become an opportunity for them to discuss their own representations about family, friendship, gender, love, etc. However, they learn from TV without perceiving the program as an explicitly educational show:

From an action serial that I like a lot, I learn karate and how to control my mind. And that is useful in defending myself. (Diego, 10 years old)

We like musical shows because we learn how to dance. (Yanina, 10 years old)

When I watch cartoons I learn what I must and what I must not do. Do not steal, do not curse, do not say dirty words. Cartoons teach you how to behave. Cartoons teach you a lot of things. (Romina, 8 years old)

From TV I learned a trick where you covered a bottle and the water wouldn’t spill from it. (Yanina, 10 years old).

I learn things from television when I watch the news. In a news program I heard that you mustn't throw garbage in the river because fish may die, and that you mustn't drive to work because cars pollute the air. (Christian, 11 years old)

In the end...

Among other things, we have spoken about the time that underprivileged children in Buenos Aires spend in front of the screen, the programs these children watch, and the knowledge they receive from their favorite TV shows.

The particular relationship that lower-class children establish with the screen has, no doubt, an important influence on the way they perceive the world. In order to understand the link these children construct with knowledge, with the media and with the culture, it is necessary to understand the way and the socio-cultural context in which they watch, think of and value television. For television is, as we have seen, an essential part of their cultural identity.

Note

1. Estimated number. No one actually knows how many TV channels are transmitted by satellite from other countries to Argentina. Information from Noemí S. Sosa, Federal Broadcasting Committee, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2001.

References

- Bourdieu, Pierre & Passeron, Jean Claude (1985): *Les héritiers*, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit
- Chaffee, Steven, Morduchowicz, Roxana & Galperin, Hernan (1998): "Education for Democracy in Argentina: influence of the newspaper in the school syllabus", in Orit Ichilov (Ed.) *Citizenship and Citizenship Education in a Changing World*, London, The Woburn Press
- Charlot, Bernard (1997): *Du rapport au savoir*, Paris, Poche éducation
- Chombart de Lauwe, Marie José & Bellan, Claude (1979): *Enfants de l'image*, Paris, Payot
- Danos, Jeanne & Dionisio, Rita (1986): *Pratiques télévisuelles des jeunes enfants et apprentissages fondamentaux*, Paris, Groupe d'Etudes pour la Défense et la Rénovation Permanente de l'Ecole Maternelle
- Gruau, Marie Claire, Roussel, Caroline, Bertrand, Gisèle & Corset, Pierre (1990): *Les jeunes et leur télévision*, Paris, Ministère de la Culture, de la Communication et des Grands Travaux
- Jacquinet, Geneviève (1995): "De la nécessité de rénover l'éducation aux médias", *Revue Communication*, Vol. 16, Quebec, Université Laval
- Jacquinet, Geneviève (1996): "La televisión ¿terminal cognitiva?", Jujuy, *Actas del Congreso Nacional de El diario en la escuela*, ADIRA
- Jacquinet, Geneviève (1997): "Pour mieux savoir ce que l'on fait, en le faisant", *Revue de diffusion des savoirs en éducation*, Numéro 14, Paris, Educations
- Mariet, François (1993): *Déjenlos ver la televisión*, Barcelona, Urano
- Morduchowicz, Roxana (1999) *Le rapport des enfants des secteurs populaires aux médias*, Paris, University of Paris 8

- Neveu, Erik (1989): *La télévision pour enfants. Eléments pour une sociologie du champ et de la réception*, Paris, CNRS
- Pasquier, Dominique (1994): "Hélène et les garçons: une éducation sentimentale", *Revue Esprit*, Paris, Esprit
- Pasquier Dominique (1999): *La culture des sentiments. L'expérience télévisuelle des adolescents*, Paris, Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme