

# Childhood and television. A comparative and ethnographic approach to TV consumption of Chilean children from upper-middle and lower income groups<sup>1</sup>

Televisión e infancia. Una aproximación comparativa y etnográfica al consumo televisivo en niños chilenos de estratos socioeconómicos medio-alto y bajo

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## ABSTRACT

This article presents the main results of a study on the meanings of television in children's daily life, focused in the case of a group of boys and girls from Santiago, Chile, who belong to upper-middle and lower income groups. From a conceptual point of view, this research starts from the assumption that children behave as active subjects in their relationship with television through a particular interpretation of its contents, even when these are mediated by adults and by the characteristics of the television format. The contextual character of the use of television is emphasized, as well as its presence in daily life.

**Keywords:** Television, childhood, daily life, mediation, ethnography of audiences.

## RESUMEN

*En el siguiente artículo se presentan los resultados de un estudio sobre las significaciones de la televisión en la vida cotidiana de la infancia, en que se explora el caso de un grupo de niños y niñas de Santiago de Chile, pertenecientes a los estratos socioeconómicos medio-alto y bajo. Desde un punto de vista conceptual, esta investigación parte del supuesto de que los niños se desenvuelven como sujetos activos en su relación con la televisión a través de una interpretación particular de sus contenidos, aun cuando estos estén mediados por los adultos y por las características propias del formato televisivo. Se destaca el carácter contextual del uso de la televisión, así como su presencia en diferentes instancias de la vida cotidiana.*

**Palabras clave:** Televisión, infancia, vida cotidiana, mediación, etnografía de la audiencia.

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## PRESENTATION

This article shows the results of the research “*Children, television and everyday life. A case study with children of different socioeconomic strata of Santiago*” which had as a main objective to understand the meaning of the television in the context of everyday life. Considering the qualitative range of this research, it was based on the assumption that children’s relationship with television cannot be established exclusively on determining indicators of consumption, nor just in the registry of user habits.

Indeed, a qualitative approximation to television consumption requires, necessarily, an analysis of the concrete and symbolic presence of this medium in the daily interactive spaces in which children are involved, as also where they develop an active relationship with the medium and its contents.

## CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

Cultural studies, in which theoretical reflection is inseparable from empirical research, give special attention to the concept of mediation, developed by Raymond Williams, opening with this an ample space within which cultural, artistic and social theories have been developed. On the other hand, Jesús Martín Barbero (1987) has resumed and expanded the proposal of these studies on the concept of mediation. Thus, he explores what the communication process means from the uses that are made of culture and relationships than are established from there; in other words, from the daily, contextual, personal or group significance given to it. With this perspective, the concept of mediation applies to the analysis in the way which mass media face multiple uses or socialization practices.

According to this point of view and in the context of the present study, the cultural studies method requires a comprehensive approach to the practices of children’s television consumption, guiding the cognitive horizon to a complex reality that is concerned with the processes of socialization and representation of the social constructions.

The idea of approaching and studying audiences from a qualitative perspective is aimed to analyze, among other things, how media communication is prescribed as a practical activity within the contexts of local cultures, or how it defines and builds the

competence to interpret content. In consequence, and in accordance with Wolf (1996), qualitative approaches become indispensable instruments to “reconstruct the process by which television content is transformed into modalities, instruments, occasions and resources that become part of everyday life, of its cognitive horizons and experiences that give meaning” (p. 174).

In research relating to the use of television, this point of view has a direct relationship with what has been denominated as “Ethnography of the audience”, which was developed as a critical and interpretive response to the mere quantification of television viewing. Ethnography of the audience shows how the event of TV viewing can be a response to different motives and senses that do not mean, necessarily, a primary option or a unique and pure activity. From this perspective, it is observed that television use acquires a meaning and manner in its natural context, namely in the interior of a household and in family interactions, that do not meet a mechanical and easily predictable process.

## CHILDHOOD, TELEVISION AND DAILY LIFE

Regarding television and its relation with the audience, traditionally two types of studies have prevailed: those focused on the potential effects, usually negative, of television on children; and those focused on the quantitative patterns of use. In both cases, television seems to have essential properties that depend on their use and influence, beyond the historical and cultural contexts it is inserted in (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 2001). In this sense, these approaches do not allow to fully understand that television is inserted as part of a complex everyday life, where various interactions are made between the different actors involved, influenced by multiple tensions and socio-cultural trends.

New Social Studies of Childhood, in an Anglo Saxon view, have highlighted the fact that children do not face the various communication technologies as *tabula rasa*, but are active in receiving the messages, both in interpreting them as well as in the effect on their behavior<sup>2</sup>.

In this line, it is particularly interesting the approach developed by Morley and Silverstone (1993, p. 183), according to which the action of watching television is to be understood within the structure and dynamics

of the context in which the viewing occurs. Meaning, the domestic environment, which is what allows the understanding of the processes through which television takes on meaning. For these authors, among the most important advances in the study on audiences, is the recognition of the importance of the context of reception that, in the case of television, is the domestic context. Hence, an in-depth analysis of the television must, necessarily, enroll in the internal routines of everyday life of viewers.

Traditionally, audience studies, on the one hand, have managed to establish exposure levels of viewers regarding different television productions; and on the other hand, have clarified some central aspects of their relationship users have with television and their programs. However, these two approaches do not give account of the treatment processes and interpretations that the viewer brings into play from the reception of a particular program.

Various initiatives of a multidisciplinary character, linked to sociological research, socio-anthropological and psychosocial on media consumption, have focused their interest in the phenomenon of interpretation, significance and social applications. In this way, emerging investigations have tended, progressively, to differentiate themselves from traditional audience studies, who have built their object from a deterministic hypothesis of media, characterizing the viewer as an extremely simple and one-dimensional entity.

According to Bianchi and Bourgeois (1992), media reception is a complex articulation between perceptual, interpretive and identity processes. In other words, in the process of reception, the viewer performs operations that change the sense of the proposed meaning. On the other hand, there is a "territorialization" of the message, which is the effect the place where the viewer is located exerts on the messages. This refers to, in other words, to the interference the human and social environment have on the incorporation of television messages. Likewise, it must be considered that reception is extended in time, since it is not limited to the moment of contact with the medium, but it is dispersed, fractionated within the frame of various everyday places. Everyday life as a social expression implies a composition and tension between different areas of urban, institutional, commercial, and aesthetic experiences. Finally, it

operates an action of identification, since the receiver is part of a community of viewers that imply points of reference and shared values. It should be remembered that this community is virtual, since there is no a real proximity between its members.

Thus, multidisciplinary research on media reception tends to challenge and complicate the traditional way of understanding the relationship between the media and the subjects, transferring the point of view from the problems of media influence to the phenomenon of use and interpretation which implies placing the focus at social, cognitive and cultural practices of the subjects with regard to the media.

This change of focus has been expressed, incipiently, in the analysis of the relationship between children and the media, especially television. The studies have been focused on aspects such as the response of children to certain defined stimuli and, later, in their ability to select data and modify their own behavior based on personal and group variables, as it was already observed by Casas, in 1998. However, even today the efforts to explain the processes of signification and social use that children bring into play from their television consumption are still scarce.

In this context, the work done by Livingstone and Gaskell (1995) deserves special attention. These authors understand the concept of "involvement" as a combination of meanings and practices through which the media are incorporated into the everyday life of children. From their perspective, communication media is present in different ways in the life of people. Therefore, it is not simply about observing the effects media have, but discover the different modes of participation in which the subjects are involved, depending on their possibilities of access and their interests, among other aspects. This means that the emphasis is on the implication of the presence of media within interpersonal relationships and the leisure activities of children, notwithstanding the studies that address the effect that violence on television has on them, the programmatic preferences children have or the shift of television viewership. Among recent studies, it is interesting to highlight the works of March (2012) and Glenn, Knight, Holt and Spence (2013), about the meaning of media and television in broader context of leisure and children's games; the work of Fuenzalida (2011, 2012), about the potential

of children's television drawn from everyday social practices; the work of Vega and Lafaurie (2013) on the critical capacity of the children audience regarding television and its consumption; and finally, the work of Orozco, Navarro and Garcia-Matilla (2012) concerning the increasingly active role of the audiences and their ability to interact as producers and emitters in the new media scenario.

Finally, it is necessary to mention that, in the field of medial research, there is a tendency to dismiss the possibility of sustaining a research with children's discourses, or using conversational techniques with little structure, such as open interviews. This trend is related to the common idea that the children's verbal comprehension is limited, as well as their reflective ability and verbalization, delimited to descriptions of specific aspects of their experience or reality. On the other hand, the experiences in New Social Studies of Childhood and of the same research team that developed this study shows that these difficulties have more to do with approaches to research than with the children themselves. In such terms, working with a narrow image of children reduces, at the same time, the range of expectations of the researcher and the actions by the children, within the framework of highly structured designed research. In them, children have no choice but to respond in schematic ways to closed questions, which makes impossible the expression of their universes of meaning, as well as the thoughts about their surroundings and experiences. Therefore, the current New Social Studies of Childhood insist that researchers must operate as apprentices in the children's' worlds, making the pedagogical relationship that is established between children and adults as flexible as possible. In this way, children are allowed to deploy their own solutions, seeing fewer respondents demanded to act and respond in the way in which the adult expects them to (Christensen & James, 2000; Greene & Hill, 2005; Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000).

#### **METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

As production techniques of information, open interviews of a dual nature were carried out with children, and individual ones with their parents and teachers. Meanwhile, participant observations took place in natural social situations of everyday life

(television viewing, school breaks, games with peers, family interactions).

Four boys and four girls of the city of Santiago were selected, aged between 10 and 11, belonging to upper middle-income (ABC1), middle-income (C2), lower middle-income strata (C3) and poverty (D). The children were contacted through co-ed and secular schools in communities where a high percentage of households corresponding to the studied socioeconomic strata existed, information that was confirmed by the data provided by the Ministry of Education, the establishments themselves and the children's parents.

The field work was developed for a total period of 30 weeks, with a break during school holidays, and comprised three phases: the first one of inclusion and receptiveness, for case selection and initial contact with schools, children and their families; and the focus and deepening phases in which data collection techniques were progressively applied.

Work with the children was extended for ten weeks, with an average of three hours a week on each case. The analysis of the data had an interpretive nature and was divided into three instances. In the first, a work consisting of successive readings of the material relating to each case and the formation of initial interpretations took place. Secondly, the drafting of ethnographic accounts took place, where interpretive texts were constructed, narratively configured for each one of the children, according to daily life in which they operate. In a third instance, the various ethnographic accounts elaborated were interrelated, which allowed comparisons according to gender and socioeconomic strata, as well as making more explicit the theoretical aspects of interpretations.

#### **RESULTS**

Below are the most relevant results about the relationship that children establish with television in the socioeconomic groups of upper middle income and poverty. For reasons of space and format, neither the results nor the ethnographic accounts developed for each of the analyzed cases for middle-income and lower middle-income socioeconomic groups are presented.

## TELEVISION AND DAILY LIFE: THE EYES OF CHILDREN

### Practices of children's media consumption

In the observed group, children's practices of television and media consumption are, fundamentally, inside the home, which helps to make a difference between this inner area and an externality outside said home. In this way, the meanings that adults and children build over television are in direct relation with the way the spaces inside of the home are set up, their technological equipment and the family dynamics that unfold there.

In general, television appears in the speech of children participating in the study as an opportunity to rest, of entertainment and to disconnect from the school day. A leisure time that they know they must regulate; and many times, it is also a time of learning contents for life that their parents are responsible of mediating. In the analyzed cases, schedules of television consumption are outlined, first, by the hours of the school day, by which television consumption begins, usually, between 16:00 and 17:00 hours. In the case of children from upper middle income, television viewing is about 2.5 to 3 hours a day. Consumption practices are almost always alone (in their bedrooms), and often accompanied by the use of other Internet communication devices. These consumption practices, in general, make television viewing as a family scarce. During weekends children's television consumption increases during mornings, which can be interrupted by participation in other leisure activities, such as, for example, sports practices. In the afternoons, other family activities decrease, in general, the children's television consumption. Friday and Saturday night schedules are more flexible, so television consumption (cable) extends approximately until 22:30 hours.

For children from the poverty groups, they have, from Monday to Friday, an average of 4 to 5 hours of viewing programs from free-to air television. The physical spaces they prefer to perform this screening are those places that have the best technology (television sets) available, or areas that allow them to share this time with their parents. This enables an encounter between parents and children, which is highly valued by the first, since it is an instance to discuss the contents with their children. This

explains why, on many occasions, daily life family activities, as, for example, eating, is executed with the television turned on. On weekends, television viewing is done throughout the morning. In the evenings, activities such as playing with friends or visiting relatives are more valuable options than watching television. However, when the possibility to go out or play is not present, free-to air television is consumed, or films that are seen with the family. Fridays and Saturdays the hours of viewing - activity that, on many occasions, is performed in the company of parents - extends to 22:30 hours.

### Presence of television content in interactive spaces

In the case of the children from upper middle-income considered in the study, the consumption of cable television gives them access to information valued by parents and teachers, due to its educational character. In this way, children participate in conversation and debate on scientific, technological, historical themes as well as current affairs, both inside their families and at school. Adults perceive the presence of cable TV in conversations as a support to strengthening the children's cultural capital.

During school recess, boys, aside from doing other leisure activities, share with their peers information related to Internet content, showing a high level of knowledge on costs, technological value and qualities of objects of consumption associated with new information technologies, allowing them to belong to the group of "technologized children". Television content appears rather marginally in the boy's conversations, which are basically related to national or international contingency events. In the case of girls, one can associate then with popular songs from cable TV programs.

For this group, television as a possibility of entertainment, information and distraction is less attractive than Internet. The computer is valued as a technological device more entertaining and dynamic than the TV, enabling you to perform various activities: see contents of television programs, watch movies, listen to music, play and communicate with their friends, among others. Their chances of interconnectivity and technological convergence between different devices would give them a comparative advantage in relation to the television, which is thus portrayed as

a more archaic technological medium that offers less possibilities of communication and bonding with their peers.

On the other hand, the children from the poverty group included in the study consumed more television as a family, so the contents of the free-to air television programs appear frequently in their everyday conversations, helping, on several occasions, to mediate family discussions related to themes displayed in journalistic night programs, such as the risks of using Internet, crime and youth violence. The hyper-real character of the images that these programs have allow, from a parental perspective, to present to children the dangers of current realities, as well as to give greater consistency to their own admonitions and teachings..

#### The role of television in generating personal styles and in the identity-building processes

In all the studied cases, television content and technological know-how unfold in everyday spaces of social interaction between peers, not just as items associated with a competition linked to the handling of information, but also as elements that compromise issues of identity, gender, status, membership and group cohesion. In this way, television appears as a reference point important to differentiate, define and articulate the world and relationships. For example, a ten-year-old child (boy or girl) is distinguished from eight year olds because they already do not consume certain children's programs, in addition to following programs such as *The Simpsons* or Japanese *anime*, whose intertextual complexity demand an important in-depth reading and subjective involvement. Also other programs such as soap operas delimit boundaries of gender, since its contents raise a reflection on what implies being a woman or being a mother, from the feminine perspective.

On the other hand, access to new technologies and their consumption can also articulate a group "sense of belonging", in a cohesion and differentiation work of different human types: those who are "technologized" inhabiting a global and interconnected world, and those who are not; those who know and belong, and the ones who do not know and are therefore excluded from the group.

#### Teacher's discourse regarding children's relationship with television

In general terms, the teachers' discourse on children's involvement with television presents a predominantly negative assessment of it as technological object itself and because of its content offer, in particular regarding free-to air television broadcasts. When referring to the case of the children who participated in this study they offer a less critical perspective, since it would be students who do not have major behavioral, adaptation or performance problems. In this way, certain individual variables of psychological character of the children, such as personality or character, are presented as arguments to explain why television, valued negatively, would not be harmful in these cases.

However, this speech emphasizes the risks, damage and losses that may result in the child's television consumption. In particular, regarding certain content, mainly sexual and violent, that, together with the lack of parental regulation of the child's consumption, could generate a mimetic character identification and, therefore, an unaware reproduction of misconduct associated with this type of content (sexual precocity, aggression to peers, etc.). In this way, teachers included in the study postulate that early access to specific content inherent to the adult world could shorten the days of childhood. In this perspective, television would be a kind of enemy that, together with the lack of supervision of consumption practices and insufficient commitment of families with their children's education would generate a fault in the necessary partnership between parents and the school authority. Moreover, these teachers build a clear opposition between productive time, associated with school, games, knowledge and culture, and unproductive time, related to the consumption of television and other technologies.

For teachers of children of upper middle-income, the free-to air television offer is also valued negatively, since it would not constitute a contribution to the education and training of children. On the contrary, it progressively becomes in a space of simple spectacle with little or no edifying content that, eventually, can negatively affect child behavior. Children, as subjects in training, would not even be able to efficiently regulate their behavior without appropriate mediation from the adult world.

Although this medium - at least in the case of cable television - can meet multiple positive functions associated with fun, relaxation or learning of educational content, it is generally perceived as an expression of "low culture" that belittles space to manifestations of "high culture", linked to the theatre, cinema and literature. This degraded culture would be against the requirements of child development, such as outdoor life, sport, family life and the spaces of dialogue and encounter with their peers.

Despite this, an excessive consumption of free-to air television of the children of upper middle-income is not constituted, to the teachers, as a practice. This is because their homes have a wide range of multimedia offer, with the consumption of other technologies, such as Internet, the preferred option. In addition, the family, as a privileged space of containment, education and care, would regulate effectively multimedia consumption of children and would offer them the possibility to perform various activities that serve as a counterweight to the ever-present temptation of such technologies.

#### Parent's discourse regarding children's relationship with television

In the case of the mothers of the children of the poverty group, there is an association of their children's television consumption with the possibility of entertainment, distraction and, in many cases, company, when they are alone at home. None of the homes deployed explicit viewership control practices, by way of prohibition of programs or timetables. Although the violent or sexual contents are negatively valued, they do not perceive them as a real problem in the practices of consumption for their children.

For mothers belonging to this group, the fact that their children are, at present, "subjects of information": cannot be eluded: they want to know, opine and participate. Television can be of help in dealing with this challenge. In the case of the male children of low stratum the joint, the conjoint viewership of reality TV programs allows to address complex thematic, such as pornography and other Internet risks. Thus, mothers assigned knowledge to media, considering them capable of supporting the task of advising and informing their children. On the other hand, the hyper-reality of certain television content serves as "proof" that supports many of the warnings of mothers, representing

the dangers of the current reality eloquently. Television, as a mirror of a harsh reality outside, offers tools so children can protect themselves from danger.

In the case of the girl of the poverty group the joint viewing of soap operas, a favorite genre of the women in the family, allows to weave stories as well as moral and aesthetic evaluations of characters and events that become part of everyday conversation. For these families, soap operas are not just entertaining stories, they also allow to articulate, while reflecting present or past social problems, familiar dialogues of educational character around certain themes, like, for example, gender inequalities or historic changes in the family structure and dynamic. In this way, the high impact telenovela is characterized as a local series of custom festivity, with historical and educational value, allowing to visualize and understand an unjust and violent past, and thus, rating the important sociocultural changes that Chile has experienced in recent years.

In upper middle-income families, the child's television consumption does not appear to be a subject matter as important as the consumption of other technological devices. In one of the cases analyzed, the mother associated the television consumption of her son to unproductive leisure moments, where this medium appears as secondary or accessory, displayed as an option associated with the use of the computer. Television consumption is considered a practice without much educational value, which does not stimulate the intelligence, with exceptions, as cable television programs about science, technology and history. Computer and Internet access, on the other hand, would be more compatible with the activities associated with productive time, to do homework, learn, communicate with friends, download or listen to music, among other activities. However, excessive use is perceived as harmful, so parents encourage their children, especially during the weekends, to have family activities outside home.

Regarding control practices of technology consumption, in this upper middle-income family the mother, who does not work outside home regulates them. Her children can watch television only a couple of hours a day provided that they are programs proper for their age or educational programs. There is a prohibition of closing the dormitory doors where children usually access television and Internet. The male child who

participated in our research has internalized these rules and obeys them, making the most of his limited time of access to technologies.

The mother of the girl from the upper middle income stratum who participated in the research values the broad programmatic cable television offering, because her daughter can, at the same time, be entertained, learn and expand her vision of the world. For her, both Internet and cable TV help her daughter improve her ability to understand the phenomena of this globalized world, strengthening her culturally. In this sense, television, rather than a risk, represents an opportunity: the chance to know and see.

Regarding the control of television viewing practices, it is noted that the criterion of regulation of this mother is based on distributing the viewing and homework time. Concerning the content, she trusts in her daughter's self-regulatory capacity. On the other hand, the use of the computer is valued because of the possibilities offered for communication and social linkages with the peers. Reading, painting, and viewing television are practices which, in some way, connect her daughter with her intimate inner world. For this reason, Internet is valued as a device that has allowed her to open up to a new world of social links and communicative exchange spaces, allowing this girl to be integrated better to her peer group at school.

## CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper was to give an account of some of the meanings of television in the context of everyday life in a group of children of Santiago de Chile. We should point out that, in all the cases studied, television is integrated into the daily life and children are in contact with new technologies, without replacing television. It is, rather, an appropriation and particular combination of different media.

As Livingstone and Gaskell (1995) point out, it would be a game of figure and background, in which older media become a "given" condition (the background) and new media are integrated as a new "figure", piquing a particular attraction among children. This means that the media would be increasingly more significant in the daily lives of children, without them setting aside their other activities. This would explain why the children studied behave with some indifference towards television, paying

attention only at times and engaging in other activities at the same time. In this way, children can "enter and leave" in a smooth manner the television discourse.

Joint screening of children and parents, especially in the poverty group, is valued as an instrument that allows the children to connect to other realities, operating as a window to the real world. Moreover, children appreciate this viewing as an instance of encounter with their family group, acquiring a sense of symbolic ritual, in a context in which family members perform their daily routines separately. In this way, joint viewing seems to reaffirm family rituals, despite the growing diversity of channels and televisions in homes.

At the same time, the family viewing motivates discussions between parents and children on difficult topics to address for both, such as drug use, sex on the Internet and violence. Parents seem to perceive their children as intellectually and morally competent subjects, based on their ability to discriminate and critically analyze this type of content. It may also occur, as posed by Steinberg and Kincheloe (1997) that in the current communication context, marked by a growing supply of content, it makes it extremely difficult to maintain control over the information and messages that can be accessed by children.

However, it is interesting to note the ambiguity in the relationship adults set with television. On the one hand, it is used to keep the children busy at certain times and facilitate conversations around topics difficult to deal with; but on the other hand, it is perceived as a threat. This threat is not founded on television content, but on the fear of an "unproductive temporality" regarding their schoolwork. In the poverty households studied, the idea of "productive time" seems to be directed at the future, forward, to progress and to a very cherished social mobility, in contrast to the television airtime, which would correspond to a present continuous without direction. Although television is presented as a relief for fatigue of the end of the day, it is also associated to a loss of vital thrust. This force, or "go forward" motion, is a central element of the philosophy of life of the lower socio-economic strata in Chile, and is related to the ability to not be run-down by the circumstances.

A central theme of national soap operas is the incorporation of issues relating to the everyday life of Chilean families, in order to seek a greater proximity to local audiences. In this context, children are



represented as actors and not only as an object of the adults' decisions. Thus, the experience of being a child, inside the studied families, is lived out through a parallel story: their direct experiences and events of soap operas, which allow comparisons and discussions between both accounts. In dialogical terms (Bakhtin, 1982), in the children's relationship with television, television texts become part of a series of other direct or imaginary conversations between themselves and with others.

Finally, following the points made by Fuenzalida (2012), the children studied could be defined as "media operators", meaning people who make an idiosyncratic and specialized use of media, connecting with them in individual and creative ways. This is manifested in

their ability to distinguish between fiction and reality, identify the discursive stereotypes used to interpret polysemic characters, such as those present on *The Simpsons*, and understand indirect television discourses, such as the ironic or hyper-real discourse. Amigo (2008) says that children's television culture goes beyond mere immediate interpretation of television content. Children have acquired early on a particular knowledge about the techniques and discursive particularities of television language, allowing them to take distance from their contents. This translates into the ability to laugh at television, or criticize and emulate it while, at the same time, understanding and generating contradictory readings regarding its contents.

## FOOTNOTES

1. This research was funded by the Regular FONDECYT Project No. 1085230 "Infancia, televisión y vida cotidiana. Un estudio de casos con niños y niñas de distintos estratos socioeconómicos de Santiago" [*Children, television and everyday life. A case study with children of different socioeconomic strata of Santiago*] and was supported by the National Council of Television of Chile (CNTV).
2. Despite this, the fact of accounting children as competent in their use of the media does not imply an uncritical celebration of a communications industry whose dynamics must be interpreted politically and ethically, especially regarding its effects.
3. "Dual interviews" is a technique developed by Mayall (2002), which seeks to reduce the imbalance of power between children and adult researchers. For this purpose the child is asked to be accompanied by a trustworthy friend when the interview is carried out, with both of them participating in generating the answers.
4. The social stratification proposed by Adimark, used by most public opinion and market research consultants in Chile, divides the population into five socioeconomic strata, depending on their level of education, income and possession of goods: upper middle-income, middle-income, lower middle-income, poverty and extreme poverty (ABC1, C2, C3, D and E, respectively). In the case of Santiago, the upper middle-income segment corresponds to 11.3% of households; the middle-income one to 20.1% the lower middle-income to 25.6%; poverty to 34.5%, and finally extreme poverty corresponds to 8.5% of the households.
5. For Searle (1979) indirect discourse is a type of speech act where the literal content of the sentence is divergent regarding the purpose of the sender (for example, irony, where what I say is different from what I mean to say).

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